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than his own. There does not appear to be any belief nowadays that an Agbat, on dying, turns into a crocodile, but it was stated that when an old Agbat man dies his friends sing: "The water is all astir—the crocodile is entering." An Agbat woman does not cease to respect the crocodile on her marriage, and it was said that the son of an Agbat woman, though he takes his exogamic unit from his father, shows respect to his mother's totem as well as to his father's. The Agbat also, apparently, respect the leopard. If an Agbat kills a leopard he is required by custom to perform certain rites designed to protect him from the ghost of the dead animal. He sends a friend or relative to a neighbouring tribe (Kagoro) for medicine, some of which he drinks and some of which he smears on his body. He will not eat leopard's flesh or wear a leopard's skin. The reason now assigned for this respect is that once in bygone days an Agbat ate leopard's flesh and his body became covered with boils. The conception of non-respect for a totem causing boils is common and is also found in other parts of the world (e.g. among the Melanesians of New Guinea). The Agbat do not call themselves "Leopards", but they state that in battle they were always put in the van, and as they rushed forward they shouted "We are leopards; we cannot run away".

The Shokwa clan respect the *tatong*, one of the lizard family. The association of the *tatong* with the Shokwa clan was begun, it is said, in the following way. Shokwa, the founder of the clan, was sitting alone in his house lighting a fire. A *tatong*, hearing the noise, came and spoke to Shokwa, asking who he was and where were his relatives. Shokwa replied that he had no relatives, and the *tatong* then assured him that God would increase his family. This prophecy came true, and Shokwa ordered all his children to respect the *tatong* for all time. And so no man of Shokwa may injure a *tatong*, and if he finds one he takes it to the priestly head of the Kuzat family who houses it in a granary, feeds it with beniseed and finally releases it with blessings. For the Shokwa regard the *tatong* as a relative, and if they find the body of a dead *tatong* will cover it with earth reverently, holding a funeral feast as they would for one of their old men. Should a Shokwa man kill a *tatong* accidentally rain would fall, even in the middle of the dry season. The most binding oath a Shokwa can

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592 428 from any share in the inheritance should the head of the household die.

597 171 *Adoption.*—A word may be said here about the custom of adoption. In some parts of the world, e.g. the Banks Islands, parents seem to have hardly more right to their children than anybody else. The relationship between parent and child, which we are apt to regard as fundamental in human nature, is not, apparently, so regarded by all other peoples in the world. Katab women, for example, in contracting sub-marriages abandon their weaned children. In Polynesia children may pass into the hands of total strangers whether the parents like it or not; and whether the practice is due to an original state of communism or to some early custom of infanticide or some other social cause need not concern us. In Nigeria it is common among the majority of the tribes for parents to hand over one at least of their offspring to others. A Hausa father, for example, generally delivers up his first-born to his wife's family: a Bade his first child, if a female, to his wife's family, if a male to the father's brother; a Nupe his first child, male or female, to the paternal relatives. A Hausa will even hand over one of his children to a friend who may be no relative at all. Among the Katab it is customary to hand over children to a respected paternal relative who has fewer children than the other or who requires an additional worker on his farm. Male children are not handed over to a maternal relative in this way; but we shall see later that a man has to ransom his second child by a money payment to his wife's parents. Female children are, however, sometimes handed over to the mother's parents; but when such children marry, the mother's parents are not entitled to receive the bride-price.

597 A few instances of random cases actually investigated will illustrate the extent to which adoption is practised.

A. had a family of five sons and three daughters. He gave none of his children to any relatives, as all his relatives had children of their own. None of his relatives gave him any of their children, as he had a sufficient number of children of his own.

B. had a family of five sons and four daughters. As a compliment to his elder brother he handed over his eldest daughter at the age of three. She was given in marriage by the elder brother, and as she has since had four husbands, the elder brother has

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*Ayang-okwop* is applied to a father's or mother's mother, father's father's sister, father's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, mother's mother's sister. The term *aviyuk* or "wife" is also applied by a male to all relatives classed as *ayangowhop* and, they apply to them the term of *atuok* or "husband". A female applies the term *ofob* or "rival wife" to all relatives classed as *ayangowhop*, and they apply the same term to her.

*Kambwon* is the general term for grandchild, e.g. a son's or daughter's child (m. or f.), brother's son's or daughter's child, sister's son's or daughter's child.

*Aniat* is applied to a daughter's husband, sister's daughter's husband.

*Angat* (*ayat*) is a special term applicable to a mother's brother or father, who use the term *kanio* for a sister's or daughter's child.

*Aniang* is applied to a son's wife or sister's son's wife.

*Okwang* is applied to a wife's father or mother, and their brothers and sisters.

*Yekwop* is applied to a husband's father or mother, and their brothers and sisters.

*Ojam* is applied to a wife's brother or sister, a wife's sister's husband, and a sister's husband.

*Ashin* is applied to a husband's brother or sister and a brother's wife.

*Ofob* is applied to rival wife, husband's brother's wife, all females classed by a woman as *kambwon* or *ayangokwop*.

*Aviyuk* is applied to a wife, a brother's wife (male speaking), all females classed by a man as *kambwon* or *ayangokwop*, a husband's grandfather.

*Atuok* is applied to a husband, husband's brother, all relatives classed by a woman as *atiokwop* and all males classed by a woman as *kambwon*.

It is noteworthy that the terms *ojam*, *ashin*, *nungvan*, and *ofob* are used reciprocally, and that a son's wife's parents and daughter's husband's parents are addressed simply by their personal names. Also that, while a woman addresses her parents-in-law as mother and father, a man may not address his parents-in-law in this way. The large number of terms used for the "in-law" relations is also remarkable and possibly indicates impact with a foreign culture. (In Bolewa and Hausa, etc., a single term covers all senior relatives by marriage.) Descriptive terms are used in order to make the precise relationship clear. Thus a father's brother, who would ordinarily be referred to as *atie-nu* "my father"), would be more precisely described as *nanyuk atienu* (i.e. "brother of my father").

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It will be observed that the Katab system of relationship terminology is of the classificatory type; that is to say that all

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another sub-clan (of his own clan). The playmate relationship does not, therefore, subsist between two men of different divisions of the same clan, for men who are *nungvan* to one another are not on too friendly terms. And so a Fakan of the Minyam clan will never engage in a "Shero"[1] contest with an Aswen of the Minyam clan, but he will with a Kpaisa of the Agbat clan. Again a member of one clan calls any member of another, who is of the same seniority, his *ojam*, i.e. wife's brother (or sister), because he may marry into that clan. If the member of the other clan is of a senior generation he would describe him as *okwang* or parent-in-law. When certain members of the Agbat and Minyam clans were asked how they would describe the Aku and Shokwa clans, who both marry the daughters and steal the wives of members of other clans, they said they would apply the term *ojam* or *nungvan* according to the circumstances of the individual case.

The word for great-grandson if *kambonto*, which seems to mean "third birth". But he is also known as *tabar fufwo* or "touch the ear", an expression similar to that found among the Hausa and Ashanti. The meaning of this expression is obscure, and no explanation could be offered by the Katab. It is possibly to be explained in the following remark by M. Junod in writing of the Ba-Ronga[2]: "A very old man holds his son in his arms, his grandson on his thigh, and his great-grandson on his knees," the Katab reversing the order, so that the great-grandson plays with the old man's ear. This would not explain the Ashanti belief that a touch on the ear by a great-grandson causes speedy death, and it may be that the expression is the outcome of some sociological custom, which may be discovered by inquiries among other tribes. It is noteworthy that, although a man and his grandfather are playmates, a man and his great-grandfather are not.

The classification of the mother's father with the mother's brother under the common term of *angat* is natural to the Katab, who scarcely differentiate between these two relatives. For he can go to their compound and appropriate whatever he pleases from either, and if he is ill he may take up his abode with them until his health is restored. M. Junod notes that among the

[1] See p. 58.
[2] Junod, *Life of a S. African Tribe*, vol. i, p. 222.

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Ronga of South Africa, although there are two separate terms for mother's father and mother's brother, they are frequently confused by the native in conversation. The confusion or rather identification is merely the result of the tendency to extend to a group the type of behaviour which is manifested towards one particular member of that group.

A word may be said here about the Katab custom of marriage with the widow of a grandfather and father, to which reference has already been made. Marriage with the grandfather's widow does not appear to be connected with reincarnation ideas, nor to have followed in the wake of a former grandfather-granddaughter marriage system of which there is no evidence among the Katab or any other Nigerian tribe, unless we are to make the precarious assumption that such marriages must have existed at one time because a Katab grandfather to-day addresses his grand-daughter as " wife ". It appears to be the result merely of the conception of women as heritable property. Marriage with the grandfather's widow is common in Africa and in parts of Melanesia. It is even found among some of the Muslim peoples of Nigeria in the form known as " auren salla ", though in this type of marriage the intention appears merely to secure old women from being left destitute, for no sexual relations take place. Among the Katab and neighbouring tribes marriage with the grandfather's widow is confined to young widows of the paternal grandfather or his brothers, and is of course exclusive of the father's mother. It is a marriage of such rare occurrence that I was only able to obtain two instances at second-hand. Interesting relationships are set up by such marriages, e.g. a man may be another's grand-nephew and half-brother at the same time. When asked whether such a person would call the other *atiohwop* (grandfather) or *nanyuk* (brother), the answer was interesting, and was that he could do either as grandfathers and brothers are on precisely the same social footing, a fact which is one of the most noteworthy features of negro life and is exemplified in the playmate relationship, the common sharing of meals, and various other social regulations. A woman even calls her husband's grandfather " husband ".

Instances of the inheritance of the father's (or father's brother's) widow are of more frequent occurrence, and the way in which the relationship terminology is affected as

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or brother, who then delivers him back to the husband, saying: "Take this child in full payment of the labour which you, in your suitor days, expended on my farm." The second child has to be redeemed, at the present day, by a money payment of 7*s.*, which is regarded as compensation to the wife's parents for expenditure incurred on her marriage trousseau. If the payment were not made the wife's parents could retain the child, a custom found among the Matabele of South Africa. In the case of offspring born to a secondary wife (i.e. one who had eloped) it is the first child that has to be redeemed by the money payment of 7*s.*, and there is no claim on a second child. The reason for this is obvious, viz. that the husband of a secondary wife had performed no agricultural service on the farm of his parents-in-law. Among the neighbouring Kachichere tribe every child has to be redeemed from the mother's family. There is a fixed scale of cash payment to-day, viz. 5*s.* for the first child, 4*s.* for the second, 3*s.* for the third, and so on. (Compare the Hausa custom of "Kworia nono" and see Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*.)

These customs throw, perhaps, more light on the subject of the bride-price than they do on that of mother-right.[1] A woman who has proved her fertility is considered to be worth more than one who has not. The original bride-price has therefore to be supplemented when children are born. In this connection we are reminded of one of the laws of Hammurabi, which required that the bride-price should revert to the husband if the wife died without having borne him children.

The Katab custom of waiving the redemption payment on account of agricultural service rendered may indicate that marriage by capture was in earlier times the normal mode of marriage. The further custom of redeeming the second child for a payment, which is regarded as compensation for the girl's trousseau, is an interesting link between the bride-price and what may be regarded as a dowry, and also indicates that the claim on children may have had nothing to do with an inherent mother-right system, but was regarded merely as compensation for the loss at marriage of a daughter's services, and for the expense of fitting her out.

[1] For further data on this subject the reader is referred to the paper on the Mumuye-speaking peoples, vol. i, ch. viii.

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of the goat killed at his wife's funeral. But sons inherit from their mother all but purely feminine forms of property, which pass to her daughters or to her sons' wives. Thus the eldest son inherits all cash left by his mother, and also all her debts, the husband not being held responsible for these. The son inherits her bean farm and passes it on to his wife. He also inherits her goats; but cooking utensils and feminine ornaments pass to her daughter, if she is old enough for marriage, or to her son's wives.

*Birth and Marriage Ceremonies.*—When a married woman conceives her first child the event is celebrated, four months after conception, by a feast provided by the husband, who invites all his own and his wife's relatives. Large quantities of beer are consumed and hopes are expressed that the woman will be safely delivered of a sturdy child. A leech is sometimes called in during pregnancy to administer medicine, but pregnancy does not involve a state of taboo and no religious rites are performed such as we find in the neighbouring tribe of the Berom, where the husband shaves the wife's head and leads her blindfold to the cave of the priest of Mbon. The Katab woman counts the months of her pregnancy by putting a circular dot of red earth on her thigh for the first month, two for the second, and so on. And so if you see a woman with five red dots on her legs or body you will know that she has been enceinte for five months. The husband keeps his own tally secretly, in case his wife runs off before she gives birth.

The woman does not, as among most tribes, go to her mother's home to bear her first child; but after the confinement she takes her new-born babe to her own home and remains there for three or four months, the reason given being that she will be better cared for among her own people than in her husband's home. During the confinement she is attended by wives of her husband's father or brother, but modesty would forbid the presence of the husband's mother. She is delivered sitting on a stone or on the wooden tray on which she is accustomed to carry head loads. The tray thereafter bears a semi-sacred character and a Katab woman will often swear an oath on her tray saying: "If I did so-and-so may I die with my next child." Should the babe be dilatory in beginning to breathe, a hoe is beaten with a piece of iron to rouse its energy. The umbilical cord is severed with a razor at about an inch from the

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844 [824] base. The cord was in former times planted with a seed yam and the spot marked. When the yam grew up it was pounded and given to the child to eat, in the belief that it would add to his strength. The stump of the cord is licked constantly for a few days by the midwife, who uses mouthfuls of hot water. No beliefs are attached to the placenta, which is buried at the back of the house. Twins are not considered unlucky. Nor are albinoes. But idiotic or deformed children were taken to the bush and abandoned. The mother's abdomen is swathed in string bandages, which she continues to wear throughout the weaning period, the intention being to preserve the figure. She also keeps her body regularly smeared with red earth, as this is believed to be good for her milk. This custom is widespread in Nigeria, being found, e.g. among the Kare-kare of Bornu. The original object of the practice was probably to ward off evil influences, but it serves as a public announcement that she is weaning a child, an announcement which is advisable, as a woman may not have sexual relations during the lactation period, which among the Katab is reckoned as three years, a rule which must act as a check on sub-marriages.

845 847 853 [171] [833]

553 A name for the child may be chosen by the father, mother, or relative. There is no fixed rule. A friend, or even a stranger staying in the house at the time of the birth, may ask that his name may be given to the child. Parents commonly confer the names of dead relatives, such as a grandfather or grandmother's or father's brother. Or the name given may have reference to some accidental circumstance at the time of birth. Thus a man called his daughter "Matan Malam", i.e. wife of a "malam"[1] because a "malam" was staying in his house on the day she was born. He called another daughter "Ladi" because she was born on Sunday.[2] One mother called her third daughter Kadayinkina, "You know I was right", as a reproof to a rival wife. Some common names are Ayashim (Friend of man), Tado (The Strong), Kaza (God), Duniya (Experience of the World). The name is assigned two days after birth without any ceremony. But if the mother had been unfortunate and lost a number of children previously, a ceremony accompanied by beer and prayers for the child's welfare would be held, the priest (Magaji Elenowum) being summoned for the occasion.

[1] A "malam" is a Muslim teacher.

[2] Lahadi or Ladi = Sunday.

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There ARE also fishing battues, traps and nets being used. The fishing rites will be described under the head of religion.

*Foods.*—The Katab has two principal meals, at mid-day and after sunset (generally rather late in the evening, between 8 and 9). He also usually has a snack of something in the early morning. The porridge (*tuk*) of the evening meal is made from *dauro* millet, and it would not suit the palate of the Hausa, as the flour from which it is made is gritty, the result of insufficient milling and winnowing. The soup which accompanies the porridge is made usually of hibiscus seeds (*zuzan*), which the Hausa would only use as a last resort (he seasons his with the fruit of the locust-bean). Salt (or charcoal), pepper and wild tomato are added to the soup. A Hausa would not add tomato to a soup containing meat, but the Katab does not mix his meat with the soup (like the Hausa); he eats it separately. The Katab does not always have the luxury of *tuk* at night. He may be content with a dish of beans (*dijok*) or of *kali* (Hausa *fate*), i.e. guinea-corn seasoned with hibiscus leaves, or of boiled yam. The yams are not pounded and made into *sokara* after the Yoruba fashion. They are boiled in their skins, put out on a mat, cut up and divided by the head of the household, each person skinning his own share. Yams or *gwaza* so treated may form the entire menu for the day, i.e. they may be cooked over night, eaten hot first thing in the morning, eaten cold during the day, and eaten again hot at night.

As regards meat, the Katab eats beef, goat, sheep, chicken, bush pig, monkey, iguana (a particular delicacy among all tribes, Kanuri excepted), rats, etc., but does not (like his Kagoro brethren and southern tribes) eat dog's flesh. He uses his dogs for guarding the compound at night and for hunting. Nor does a dog form part of the bride-price, as among the Kagoro. The Katab commonly sell their dogs to the Kagoro and buy goats with the proceeds. Horse- and camel-flesh are taboo.

Beer (*akan*) is an important foodstuff, and the method of its preparation may be recorded. The guinea-corn is soaked in water for three nights, and is then spread out on a cemented surface, and covered with leaves to protect it from the wind and sun. The grain bursts and is put out in a basket, dried in the sun, and finally milled. The flour is placed in a pot, water is added, and the mixture is stirred regularly throughout the day. It is then boiled and left until the sediment has settled. The

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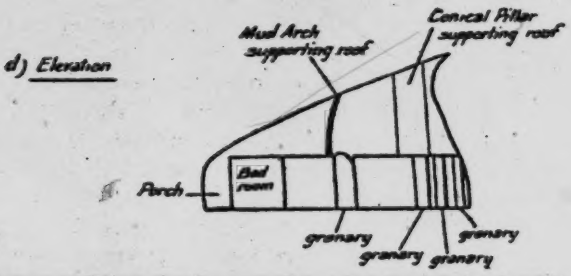


of a man who is reputed to have a special knowledge of house-building medicine. The medicine is placed in a pot with certain leaves; a chicken is sacrificed and the blood allowed to drip into the pot, which is then buried in a hole in the middle of the compound, the mouth of the pot being stopped by a stone and sealed up with mud. The floors are made more durable by having pieces of broken pottery beaten into the surface. Patterns of cowries are sometimes inserted into the flooring. The Katab do not, like the Hausa, employ locust-bean juice as a cement, but they smear the walls of their houses with red earth mixed with *dafara*. This gives a slippery surface and prevents vermin from ascending to where property is stored. The ground plan of the house is roughly 30 feet by 18 feet, the walls being 3 or 4 feet high. The houses have a ground and upper floor, and from the upper floor a mud arch and conical pillar rise to support the roof.

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*Physical Appearance.*—The Katab are rather short in stature, and are of coarse build, the women in particular being thick-set and having great development of the buttocks. The women present an ungainly appearance as they come along the road swinging their arms like men. The crown of a woman's head has a peculiar conical appearance as the result of carrying heavy loads balanced on a circular pad. Grown-up men (and women) shave the head, and the older men wear a beard; but a moustache is not affected. Lads allow their hair to grow or not as they please; but with the assumption of responsibility the head is always shaven. Girls allow their hair to grow, but they are shorn of their locks by the husband's parents soon after marriage.

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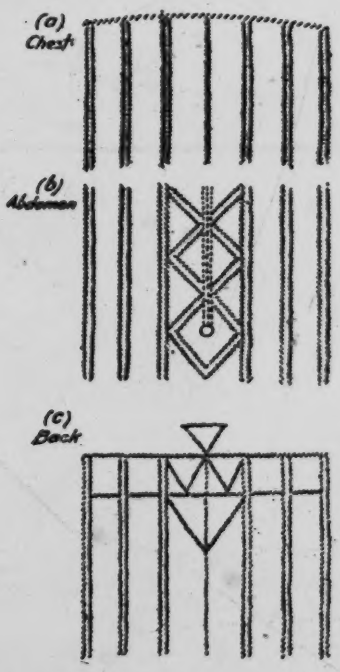
they are incised shortly before the girl goes to her husband. The facial and posterior marks are not incised until after she has taken up her abode in the husband's home. The commonest design used is as follows :—




N.B.—Designs of the above type are common throughout Africa. For example, M. Junod in describing the body marks of Baronga women (S. Africa) says : "On the anterior part of the body four triangles are drawn under the breast leaving a square place of which the navel occupies the exact middle." And again : "The patterns are triangular, the upper triangles meeting with the lower ones at their apex."

*Musical Instruments, etc.*—Of musical instruments there is no great variety. The commonest is a valve instrument of the oboe type, made of guinea-corn stalk and played by boys and young men in the fields. On festal occasions music is provided by bands consisting of drums and antelope horns. The horns may be lengthened by the addition of a calabash tube. The

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scraps of meat have been added. Next day, accompanied by the Magaji and his assistants, and by the senior relatives of his household, he goes to the graveside. The Magaji inspects the dish of beniseed, and, if the ancestral ghost has partaken, there will be found in the dish a few hairs of the hide of some bush animal. Needless to say it is the Magaji alone who may make the inspection, and the hairs are always found. The youngest of the Magaji's assistants then offers a prayer: "I declare to our ancestral spirit that, if I have done him wrong, I come to him to seek forgiveness. I repent in order that I may find good fortune on earth at his hands. May Gwaza (God) grant that I may be blessed with children and wealth." The other assistants in turn make similar prayers, and finally the Magaji himself concludes by saying: "We have made common prayer and it has been received. Absolution has been granted you. Begone all of you to the bush, and may Gwaza prosper you and give you quarry to bring to me. If you fail to obey this command, then the blame is with you and has nought to do with your forefathers." They all rejoice and say they will go forthwith. The priest then takes the beniseed and meat offerings and gives a little to the head of the household and his companions in turn. He gives some of the beer to the householder, drinks some himself, and hands on the remainder to the others. Any of the beer left over has to be drunk by the priest himself. The young men then go off to hunt, and the quarry is brought to the priest, who divides it up among the members of the household and his own assistants, the major portion going to the priest and to the individual who had brought the quarry down.

It may be interesting to describe here the ceremony of reconciliation between two members of a family. It may be that a younger brother has quarrelled with an elder, and in a fit of temper the elder has told the younger that he never wishes to see his face again. This amounts to an imprecation, which the younger brother may ignore for some time. But the remembrance of it will rankle in his mind, and circumstances will soon arise which will make the memory of the imprecation intolerable. Sickness may invade his house. And so he will resolve that the time has come for an atonement. With a flask of beer and a chicken he will go to his brother, and in the presence of the senior members of the family will formally repent, asking

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for the withdrawal of the curse and putting some ashes on his tongue and spitting them out. M. Junod describes an exactly similar rite of reconciliation among the Bantu-speaking Thonga of South Africa.[1]

As regards the future life and psychological beliefs, the Katab's ideas are, like our own, of an indeterminate character. For the abode of the dead he uses the Muslim term "Lahira", and he believes that the majority of the spirits of the dead are content to remain there. One who has done evil in his lifetime will be punished in "Lahira" by the ancestral spirits. It is the discontented and evil spirits that return to the world to trouble men. The Katab does not appear to have any conception of a multiple soul. The breath and shadow are associated with the soul. If anyone falls ill it is because the soul has left the body temporarily. His soul leaves his body when he goes to sleep, and it is the re-entry of the soul which causes him to dream. During the day the soul may become partially dissociated and follow him about, and for this reason a man will sometimes turn quickly on the road, thinking there is someone at his back. The soul of a witch can be seen at night giving off fire. There does not appear to be any conception of a bush soul, but the souls of certain animals are believed to be able to enter a man's body. Thus if a hunter kills a roan he immediately fumigates himself and his house with some smoking medicine. The soul of a dead enemy must also be warded off by rites to be described later.

Reincarnation ideas are not prominent, but in certain cases the dead are believed to be reborn. Thus the posthumous child of a hunter who was killed in the bush may be the hunter himself reborn, and the mark of the shot which killed him may be seen in the child's leg. A man who had met a violent death may be born again as the son of his remarried widow, bearing on his body the mark of the wound which had caused his death. These beliefs appear to be based on well-known physiological facts. It is of interest to note that if a widow (or widower) dies, she (or he) is met on the other side by the soul of her (or his) first husband (or wife), i.e. it is a man's first wife who is regarded as his true wife.

Associated apparently with the private ancestral cult is the

[1] *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. ii, p. 371.

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one or more of his sons to a brother or half-brother who has no children of his own. This is considered a duty, and it is said to be good for the boy as he will be more strictly brought up by his paternal uncle than by his own father. In such cases the paternal uncle arranges the boy's marriage, and the boy is expected to look after his paternal uncle in his old age. His father has no further control over him. Occasionally a Morwa will send a son temporarily to his wife's family. But it is not the custom (as occasionally among the Hausa) to hand over a son to a friend who is not a close relative.

Clan emblems appear to be non-existent except among the Agbat, who respect the python. No one will eat leopard's flesh unless in conjunction with a protective medicine of pumpkin leaves. It is interesting to note that the skins of leopards have to be handed over to the Chawai chiefs, an indication that the Morwa are intruders into Chawai country.

The Morwa culture resembles that of the Katab. They wear the "tail" described in the Katab report, and it might have been added there that, according to Driberg, the Lango of Uganda formerly wore "a broad leathern tail covering both buttocks and studded with pieces of metal". Incidentally the same author records that unmarried girls among the Lango (and apparently also among the Bari) wear aprons of small metal chains. The Ganawuri, who are the immediate neighbours of the Morwa, have also this custom which appears to be unique in Nigeria.[1]

*Religion.*—As already stated the principal priestly family lives at Kisagwai near Manchok. The cult is principally animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed. A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits, a custom which links the Morwa with the Semi-Bantu speaking groups. In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town. The lintel of the door of the priest's house at Kisagwai is decorated with a black cross. There is the same rule among the Morwa as among the Kagoro, that no one may enter a priest's hut or

[1] But it is found among the Tur of the British Cameroons.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38



Kaje, somewhat fewer with Kagoro.[3] (As will be seen, Birom and Irigwe especially show some evidence of other links with the Katab group.)

(ii) *Form of Dwelling*

According to Meek, a distinctive type of dwelling-house is built by all members of the Katab Group in Zaria, and by Kagoma; there is no information on Kaninkon. Meek adds that Jaba and Kagoma are the most expert builders, and suggests that the common use by Ataka and Kagoro of a more conventional type of dwelling (the round mud house, with conical thatched roof) may indicate that they have only recently adopted the style.

Meek gives detailed diagrams of the characteristic Katab house-type, which is spacious and oval in ground-plan (roughly 30 ft. by 18 ft., walls 3 to 4 ft. high); the roof does not rise to a peak at the centre, symmetrical from all angles, but slopes gently upwards to a point high above the rear of the house (away from the single small circular door), whence it falls away sharply. The interior is sub-divided into a number of compartments on the ground floor, which is a maze of cylindrical pillar-granaries entered only from the attic, and so built as to give support to the soaring roof. The floors are made more durable by having pieces of broken pottery beaten into the surface and patterns of cowries are sometimes inserted. The walls may be smeared with red earth mixed with *dafara* [Hausa, a particular vegetable juice] which prevents vermin from ascending to the lofts where property is stored.[4]

Throughout the area there has been the usual dispersal of settlement incident to shifting cultivation. Formerly, Kagoro and Moroa most notably maintained inaccessible hill-top villages protected by spiny euphorbia ("cactus") hedges, and Kagoma (probably also Kaje and Jaba) had fortified hill-top retreats; but these appear largely to have been abandoned under British Administration.

(iii) *Dress, Adornment and Tribal Markings*

The unique article of dress which defines the Katab Group is the mushroom-shaped "lumbar ornament" worn by married women,[6] called *oyuan* or *oyam* by Meek, *kunnok* by W. M. Hynes. The earliest available photographs of it are those taken by Tremearne among Kaje and Kagoro (*c.* 1909) in *Tailed Head-Hunters of Nigeria*. Comparison of these (or Temple's descriptions) with those of Meek some twenty years later reveals a striking change, from a thick wad of palm-fibre bound in the form of a blunt truncated cone, to a still bulkier article, now woven of fibre in the form of a mushroom, hung by the "stem" from a cord about the waist.[6] The remarkable thing is that changes in style seem to have affected all tribal sections of the Katab Group about equally; furthermore there seems to have been at no time any distinction in dress according to generation.[6] Bunches of leaves are worn in addition to the *oyam*.

[3] Superficial comparison with a vocabulary of Afusare shows, similarly, a clear though slight connection with both Kaje and Kagoro. M. G. Smith remarks that a Kagoro acquaintance on his first trip to Jos was able to converse with Afusare there. Greenberg, in a personal communication, stresses the interrelationship among Kaje, Irigwe, and Afusare.

[4] The Irigwe alone among their neighbours have adopted from the Katab peoples this style of house, but they, like Ataka and Kagoro, do not use it to the exclusion of the ordinary small round house.

[5] Kagoma women excepted; there is no information about Kaninkon.

[6] A possible clue to the form taken by the *oyam* in recent times is a style common in the western (nearest) sector of the Birom tribe (the vicinity of Hos): women of that area wear a circular tray of palm-fibre, but suspended from the edge rather than from the centre. Connections between the Birom of this area and their Katab neighbours have already been noted.

[6] At the present time, there are certain major differences which effectively set apart the women of one tribe from those of another: the absence or presence, and amount, of white beadwork, the diameter of the flat tray, and the length of the "stem," among the more prominent. According to Meek, the *oyam* is "frequently smeared" with red ochre: to-day the practice appears to be universal.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Moroa
Ataka
Kaje



Gizagwai, Mahuta, and Manchok:[104] the senior lineage, then, of Ye-Lutsi is that of Gizagwai. The chief is derived from a different clan, localized apparently at Manchok, to which Meek tentatively gives the name Manchok. Meek derives the Ye-Lutsi from Yelwa, in the Chawai tribal area of Zangon Katab District, and the Manchok from Kafanchan. According to Meek, the priest of Gizagwai has a prominent role in the installation of the chief of Moroa, with which a "sacred sword," the property of the chiefly clan, is associated.

Regarding the religious beliefs of Asolio, Meek states: "The cult is primarily animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March)[105] the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed.[106] A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits . . . In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town."[107]

Meek states also: "the Moroa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab."

A fragmentary analysis by Reynolds of Asolio villages in Zangon Katab District reveals that Chori has a fully-fledged hamlet-head (entitled *Makkadas*) whose lineage or clan is Abuwat, while Ungwar Kayya has had no hamlet-head for the past nine years, only a *wakili* [Hausa, care-taker].

In other respects, materially and superficially, at least, Asolio appear to resemble Katab proper.

Little can be said of Ataka. At the time Tremearne wrote, they used, like certain Kagoro communities upon Kagoro Rock, the ordinary round house at least as commonly as the more distinctive Katab-type house, and their women wore a distinctive type of lumbar ornament which they shared only with Kagoro women of Tuku, Jema'a District. There is no indication that these distinctions persist. Ataka were also essentially horsemen like Birom, Sura, and Ron of the Plateau and this distinguished them from other Katab affiliates. Like the Plateau people again, Ataka men commonly wore only the penis-sheath. Ataka women still supply the pots used over a wide area of south-eastern Zaria, a fact which suggests links with certain segments of the wider Birom community again (especially Irigwe and certain Afusare "colonies").

## Kaje (Baju)[108]

### Location: Population: Nomenclature

Virtually all major centres of Kaje settlement lie within Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, in the extreme south-western corner, from which point they extend in a north-westerly and northerly direction, along the borders of Jaba and Kachia District, thence into the no-man's-land at the heart of the District, where Kamantan, Ikulu, and Kaje settlements are intermingled (see "Social and Political Organization," below). Kaje here number 24,507 (N.A. Census, 1949–50). They are also found in apparently quite recent settlements in Kachia District, where they number 1,204 (N.A. Census, 1948–9). In 1950, Kaje of Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, totalled 925 in three villages (Yamshir 385, Mafiri 165, Maikarfi 375).

The demography of the Kaje tribal area appears to be similar to that of the Katab tribal area: the density of both Kachia and Jema'a Districts (see Kaninkon, p. 81, above, and Jaba, p. 116, below) is considerably less than that accepted for

[104] Cf. Tremearne's Enniluchwe and Reynolds' Nliche.
[105] Cf. Seasons when marriages may be contracted, noted above.
[106] Perhaps "annually," earlier in the same sentence, should read "semi-annually"?
[107] Whether any part or all of this account refers mainly to Gizagwai, or more widely, is not clear.
[108] The following account relies heavily on the research done by J. A. Reynolds, A.D.O., between 26th April and 22nd August, 1950, in Zangon Katab District. His MS. Report has been invaluable in preparing this section.

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro



be divided into three, but otherwise there is no variation. The pigment used is from the unripe kernel of the gaude (*Gardenia thumbergia*). The face is, moreover, ornamented with beads, tin or coloured earth. They seldom wash, if ever. Men wear triangular tanned leather loin-coverings, or a skin which hangs from one shoulder to the back of the knee, the front legs being tied together loosely so that its owner may easily shift it to protect the exposed side of his body. This is usually made of goat-skin on which the hair is left. Hats made of plaited palm-fibres are also frequently worn. A cape made of palm leaves is used by both sexes as a protection against rain. None but Chiefs under Government wear cloth, and these have Haussa tobes.

Youths generally shave their heads, except for a broad ridge of hair from the forehead to the nape of the neck. No shaving is done during harvest time, but at other seasons the men from time to time shave off their moustaches, but usually wear a beard.

The tribal marks are the same for both sexes and are inflicted at certain epochs in their lives—the boys have their foreheads scarified when they are able to hoe. A girl has her chest and back marked on reaching marriageable age, and her forehead when she goes to her husband. In old days the marks consisted of irregular cuts on the forehead only, but two generations ago a skilful Katab operator invented a pattern which has been adopted by Kagoro, Attaka, Moroa and Kajji, as well as by his own people. It consists of numerous short perpendicular cuts along the forehead from ear to ear, and thirteen or more long slanting lines on each cheek from ear to chin. The incisions are painted with soot.

The customs of the above-mentioned neighbouring tribes have many points of similarity, and the language of the Kagoro is similar to that of the Attakka and Moroa, and resembles that of the Katab and Kajji. Haussa is spoken by a few individuals only.

It has been suggested that, in common with the Attakka, the Kagoro own Bauchi as their country of origin, that a long while ago they migrated to Nimbia—in South Nassarawa—and thence to their present location. In matters of dress, tribal marks, architecture, customs and language they show, however, obvious affinity to the Katab and Kajji tribes in the north-west, who trace their migrations from the north.

They have always retained their independence, though they suffered defeats at the hands of the Kajji and from the Filane of Jemaa. They would, however, probably have been conquered by the latter had not a Filane mallam foreseen in a dream that whoever should subjugate them would die.

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje



## KAIBI.

The Kaibi inhabit the western part of the Guri Srubu hills, in the Sarkin Kauru District, Southern Division of Zaria Province, together with their neighbours the Rishua, Ruruma, and Rumaya (Dan Galadima District), each of whom speak their own language or dialect.

They are all pagans, but a few of the Rumaya have become converts to Islam.

They were first administered in 1907, and are described as backward peoples.

The only notes concerning them refer to the Kaibi.

Betrothals are made when the principals are children. It is customary for the girl to sow corn and rice and carry them when harvested to her suitor.

The marriage is celebrated when the couple have attained puberty.

A man accused of murder was conducted to the tsafi place outside the town, and asked whether he could swear his innocence by the great god Kashiri, on an arrow, in the following terms: "I swear by Kashiri that this is the truth. If I lie may this arrow kill me. When I shoot may the arrow turn backwards from my bow and pierce my body and kill me."

## KAJE.

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The Kaje, or Kajji, occupy an area of some 166 square miles in the Jemaa Emirate of Nassarawa Province, where they number some 6,000, men being in preponderance over women, and the Maaji District of Zaria Emirate, where, together with the Jaba, they number some 2,000.

They have a tradition that they once lived on a big river, and that they took part in a general migration from West to East, though Zaria is mentioned vaguely as their place of origin.

They show affinity to the Katab, Kagoro, Moroa and Attakka tribes, though at one time they conducted successful warfare against the Kagoro. Those still living in Zaria Province state that many groups broke off from the main body.

Though they are closely allied to and intermarry with the Attakka their languages are distinct. They all speak Haussa.

[This is not a sub-group of the Katab.—Ed.]